

[1889] 1889

Countless good women hurry me glancing, p. 171 / and
 281 reaching, hurry me glancing, some of them painted their
 designs on without note.

41 In the lower end basket are stuck the arrows, averaging
 two meters long, and the bows, which almost reach a length of
 one and a half meters. The arrows, made of ash, have simple
 wood at their points, at the end of the shaft broad feathers are
 set spirally.

287 Feathers, even bundles of them and whole tail coverts,
 285 are kept in neat placed together parallel-like, quills, py-
 rams, bones, and pieces, shells, and the like are kept in small
 baskets and urns. On the north of the hammock are found an
 incense burner a couple of baskets of shells and -- the comb. This
 289 incense burner consists of small, narrow shells placed one to one
 291 another and held together by two cross-sticks of bamboo by means
 of a plating of cotton threads. the last stick is placed beyond
 the lower cross-stick to the north of the comb.

301 The hammock is not quite cut hardly any women, but rather
 limited. Two poles stand in the ground. they are bound with a
 chain of cotton in the way that one woman would binding wood on
 a chair, through the horizontal, parallel threads, vertical threads
 are drawn at four-centimeter intervals with guide sticks and
 inserted. the part of the chain which lies close to the pole and
 are not inserted (the entire bundle of horizontal threads pressed
 together) form the loop that receives the hammock ropes.

285 A plaited matting above the door and doors of alternating
 black and light more are worked with a natural cotton yarn.
 The fire is heated with a triangular piece of matting.

302 The hair of the women, cut unevenly and longest behind
 the ears, hangs down to the shoulders. the forehead is almost
 completely covered. A young woman had the latter painted with
 thick red color during the visit on the river. No ornaments. Only
 301 the old woman wears a string over her left shoulder, which goes
 under her right arm. three trouser buttons, which she cut off from
 an and the soldiers with her own hands, are strung on it.

THE CASE.

531 In the case of the products of the Great American Carriage Co.,
532 the most interesting article was a hatched disk -- "the"
disk of the upper hatched -- which proved the attention of
533 the artist, following the method of the hatched, the
hatched was with the disk in order to be stopped just. It
had hatched hatched and hatched, from the bottom edge of which
long hatched hatched down. Many simple, more-long hatched hatched
534 hatched hatched upon like. Two hatched hatched hatched hatched
535 small hatched hatched hatched on them. hatched, hatched, hatched.



In the Bakaif festival-dance.

535 the use of half-walrus, were gathered into a hatched hatched
536 that is tied around the hatched for dancing. Another hatched hatched
537 instrument was a hatched hatched, which consisted hatched,
538 hatched on a stick (1).

(1)

1. Hans Stedl (1884) tells of the "Tuppin
Tubas": "They believe in a thing that grows
like a gourd, is as large as a half-measure
coop. It is hollow inside, they stick a
little stick through it, cut a little hole in
it, like a mouth, and put little stones in it,

(11. 1967)

(12) Turneyous (the head) that he had found them dead. It is probable that the two glens which we had repeatedly noticed in the east, and which had been regularly observed in the evening at Independence, came from them. Nearly on level ground, the glenwall, about 12 meters wide, flowed in from the left. On both banks quadrants and plantings.

(13) From the second village Turneyous had taken along as a companion Pabell, a short, stocky old man who did not look at all like he was a great warrior, and whom we, with a lack of respect, called the "tash driver." They did not have much luggage with them and easily packed it into the mayas, their back-baskets for carrying loads. They had taken along on the journey, not cotton hammocks, but hammocks made of palm fiber, which are lighter and dry quickly if they become wet.

(14) The two made rapid progress, even though they were hampered by taking at every favorable spot. We had let the great warrior staff a bottle of ammonia, which had benefited him no little. After that he could no longer be enticed to smell any of our things. If one of us calls from a corner that it smells there, everybody runs over and sniffs.

103

To the Third Sakab Village (Kayaquali).

361 The harbor at which we arrived at 4.45 lay at the end of a loomel inlet and would not have been found without a guide.

(52) The next morning, 6 October, we departed at 7.00 for the village and reached it in three-quarters of an hour on the usual winding forest-path. On the way we saw a large human figure carved in tree bark, with three fingers on the hands and stump-like feet.

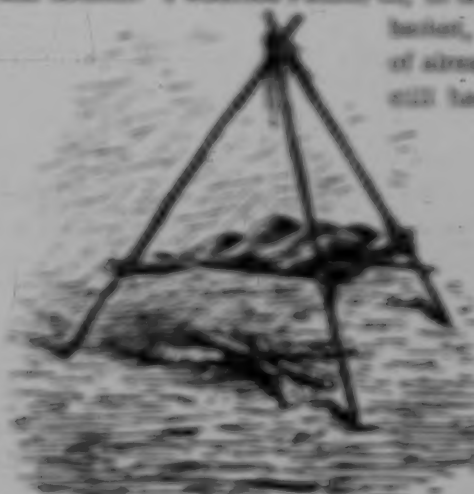
Harpis village, "Kayaquali-ku," also had only three houses and a flute-house, but was the liveliest of the three villages.

(62) I counted 31 men and just about as many women and children. Some of the latter, however, had run into the woods. There were probably about 100 souls in the village. The chief, Porina, was a small, friendly gentleman, he had had beij baked at night.

Fig. 10.

The rods, mostly small hard ones, were placed out at the bottom, very constant to an inch apart. They hung as a bunch from a piece of skin with both ends fast together in an oval.

Two types of weir baskets were distinguished: the pyramid of the Indians, wider, taller with top round, conical in construction, and the other, unimani, narrow, long, with wide, high vertical sides. The catch-basket, hiti, was a plated framework of pointed sticks, shaped like a truncated cone, and open at the top and bottom. I watched Felipe as, in order to make a catch-



basket, he covered up a bundle of already pointed sticks which still had different lengths. He used the following measuring stick. He took a piece of short wood, a-b, and another, c-d, and then together one under the other parallel at b and c, and now used the first piece from c-d for measuring, placing the stick to be measured alongside it, pressing it against b, cracking it sharply at d, and breaking it off.

Fig. 10. Fishing rack (trampa). (1/30 nat. size as shown in the original illustration/.)

The Indians often set out for a few days to engage in fishing. They bring home baked fish, but they also seem to be satisfied merely to eat their fill for once outside. The pyramid of the grill, the "trampa" of the Brazilians, which one almost always finds where the Indians have stayed overnight to fish or to build a canoe, is finished in no time. Three sticks are placed together like rifles and are joined at the top with bark, somewhat below the middle a little rod is placed crosswise from one stick to each of the two neighboring ones and is lashed, and this angle

/238 cont./

128

I shall discuss the reed diadems and plaited dance costumes in the chapter on masks.

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Textile work. The material: pineapple silk, aloe hemp, palm fiber from the tucum and buriti, and cotton. The fibers are put in neat bundles, and twilted on the thigh, but the cotton tufts, on the other hand, are drawn out into a thread by means of the spindle likewise made to turn rapidly on the thigh and then spinning freely. Only the women spin and weave. The fiber strings serve as the actual tie-threads and ropes; fish nets, carrying nets, in certain cases hammocks, and finally bowstrings are made of them. Knitting is done with bamboo rods or long wooden needles that have eyes.

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Fig. 32. Fire fan (1/3 nat. size
/in the original illustration/.)

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The spindle is a disk through which is stuck a thin, not very straight, and smoothly worked stick sometimes notched at the tip. To it is attached a tuft of cotton, freed of seeds, whereupon the whorl is rapidly turned on the thigh and the whole allowed to hang; as a result of the even rotation, the cotton is twisted into a thread. The thread is wound on the little stick, until a thick, cone-shaped ball rests against the whorl, which prevents it from slipping off. Diameter of the whorl-disk, five and a half to six centimeters; length of spindle shaft, 30-35 centimeters. The whorl usually consists of a piece of the ventral shell of the turtle,

/238 cont./

#171 it is often made of wood, and only among the Bakairi does it
283 consist of an ordinary, crude clay disk which might have been broken out of the bottom of an old pot and ground to shape.

[531] /239/ I shall speak later of the designs incised on the first two types mentioned, the Bakairi leave their wood and clay disks undecorated, and we did not find any tortoise-shell whorls among them. The women powdered their upper thighs with white, chalky clay for protection against perspiration. They kept the material in the form of balls the size of a child's head, from which they scraped off a little with a shell for use.

The thread is made in two or three different thicknesses and kept in balls which are wrapped in green leaves. The balls are popular hospitable gifts of the Bakairi and Mehinaki, which [431] [574] were given to us likewise at the reception, just as Columbus reports this in the case of his islanders on 12 October 1492.

#171 The "loom" is as primitive as can be. Two low posts, which
● 286 need not be half a meter high, a good distance apart, that is all. The origin of the weaving from the plaiting is still clearly evident. A thick skein of cotton is wound around the posts as a warp, a thread without end; the cross-threads are pulled through with guide sticks.

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352 The Bakairi hammock represents a rather loose net, long, rectangular, two and a third meters by one and a quarter meters. The rows running lengthwise are broken at irregular intervals of two to three and a half centimeters by transverse rows; one can easily stick one's finger through the interstices. The type of weave is very simple. Two longitudinal threads, two to three millimeters thick, are wound around each time through the thinner transverse threads which are only one millimeter thick, and, to be sure, there are four transverse threads, of which two run wave-like in front of, and two in back of, the longitudinal threads, crossing between the latter. Where the transverse threads come out on either side, they are knotted; thus on each longitudinal side one finds some 70 knots with the four cut-off ends of the threads. The loop left free on either post is wound in the center, so that, on the one hand, an eyelet to receive the suspension

/:39 cont./

286 ropes is produced, and, on the other hand, the longitudinal
352 threads, uncrossed here for a length of 30-35 centimeters, diverge from this fixed point toward the net when it is stretched out.

191 Besides this typical cotton hammock, there is a hammock
286 in which the warp consists of buriti palm-fiber thread and only
352 the woof is of cotton. And, to be sure, this cotton woof may be limited to only a few transverse threads, which ran at intervals of 10-20 centimeters among the Mehinakû. The buriti hammock is native among the Nu-Aniak tribes. The docile Bakaïri on the Paranatinga also had it, and they told me that their old chief, Caetano, had first introduced it. The palm-fiber hammocks were usually of the same length or even longer (up to two, and three-fourths meters) than the cotton hammocks, but not one meter wide, so that the comfortable diagonal position which the Brazilian quite rightly likes to assume was almost impossible.

A third type was produced by the more abundant use of cotton. Thus, among the Auerô, we saw all the transitions from a space of six to seven centimeters between the /240/ cotton transverse threads to a space of one or two centimeters, or even half a centimeter. Finally, however, the cotton threads were pressed so closely together that one could no longer see the palm fiber, and a strong cloth, worked almost as tightly as sailcloth, was produced. Here the palm-fiber longitudinal thread, about one and a half millimeters wide, was wound with two pairs of cotton transverse threads that crossed, not singly, but doubled, between it and the next longitudinal thread. Naturally, the long sides of the hammock were densely studded with knots; at the four ends the strands were allowed to hang down a bit and ended in tassels. In many cases, at intervals of about 40 centimeters, bluish-black transverse stripes were achieved by the use of dyed cotton. Otherwise all hammocks were brown: the cotton hammock, as well as the one of palm fiber, which was already light brown in its natural color, was colored a dirty brown by the bodies oiled with urucú red.

[386]

/240 cont./

*191 The hammocks of pure cotton were a specialty of the Bakairi:
 • 286 among them, too, buriti hammocks could be found even on the
 352 Kulisehu. The stoutest cloth was made by the Auetö. The ham-
 mocks for small children among the Nahuquá were peculiar:
 merely a bundle of stalks tied together at the top and bottom and
 hung up.

Thus, the most varied forms existed and were in the process
 of becoming uniform. The Suyá were still sleeping on large
 palm-straw mats following the custom of the Gês. When we
 visited them, they were on the point of adopting the hammock;
 they had a few specimens and were weaving some themselves.
 Perhaps the art came from the Trumai women whom they had
 with them. After my journey of 1884 I pointed out the parallel-
 ism between the Schingü region and the Guianas, namely, that
 in both areas the cotton hammock seems to be native to the
 Karaiben, the palm-fiber hammock to the Nu-Aruak, and that
 furthermore this ethnographic conformity corresponds exactly to
 the linguistic one. In both cases, the technique arises from
 plaiting, only the material is different. The Bakairi were the
 most backward: they did not have the cloth-like fabric. It is
 [283] also striking that their spinning whorls, although they completely
 fulfilled their purpose, were less artistic than among the other
 tribes.

*191 A parallel technique was shown in a type of sieve-mat. The
 285 stalks were covered more or less closely with cotton yarn, so
 415 that stiff and at the same time very flexible, tight mats were
 produced, between which the mandioca was pressed dry. We
 also saw pieces of cloth used for the same purpose.

*191 Gourd vessels. The fruits of Crescentia cujete /C. cujete/
 415 and the cucurbit Lagenaria provide vessels of the most diverse
 [224] shapes. There are some that are ball-shaped, cucumber-shaped,
 bottle-shaped, hourglass-shaped, as well as many others of an
 irregular nature; after cutting them in two one obtains correspond-
 ingly shaped bowls. The green fruits are tied into the desired
 shape, the hourglass shape, in particular, is a product of this
 method. In order /Pl. XV appears here/ /241/ to divide them

[Text continues on p. 254]

[P. 72-A]

- 241 beans, *ipid*; peanuts, *oremj*; sweetpotatoes, *malédo*; "cará," *adri*; maize, *daji*; potatoes, *múla*; cotton, *kodokira*; urucú, *dúndo*; tobacco, *tsurj*; piqui fruit, *ipa*. Manioc, maize, and sweetpotatoes were the principal food crops. Cotton was grown for making hammocks and the various belts and strings used. Tobacco leaves, after being dried, were smoked by being rolled into cigars (*topdri*). [251] Tobacco seems to have had a ritual use, as the shamans smoked heavily before performing a rite. 252 Bitter manioc was shredded on a shredding board into which fish teeth or fine pieces of shell had been embedded. The pulp was squeezed in a piece of cotton cloth in order to remove the poisonous acids. The meal was then used for baking cakes. The fine powder or flour which settled at the bottom of the settling tub was also used for baking cakes after it was thoroughly dried. Maize was eaten boiled or roasted. Sweetpotatoes were 272 roasted over coals. Maize meal was prepared and mixed with wild honey and water to make a non-alcoholic beverage. The Bacairi claim not to have used any form of alcoholic beverage. 241 Cultivated plots were located outside the village, each large household usually having a continuous area. Maize and many other crops were planted in September and October when the rains began. Sweet manioc and sweetpotatoes could be planted the year around, especially on river banks after the rivers went down following the rainy season. April was the harvest month and also the beginning of the ceremonial season.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

- 592 The occupants of the large communal houses usually worked together in the fields, went hunting or fishing together, and generally cooperated in economic activities. Families could work individually if they wished or did not need the help 241 of others. It was the task of the men to burn and 462 prepare the fields for planting. As the men loosened the soil with the digging stick women planted the seeds, slips, or pieces of stalk, as the case might be. Women and children thereafter took care of the weeding. 462 Division of labor by sex existed to a certain extent. Women wove mats (*anegéu*) out of various [202] fibers, and hammocks out of cotton yarn which [202] was also spun by women. Men wove baskets. [323] Both men and women made clay pots. Bacairi

[P 72-B]

Bacairi

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairi pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots

[532] seen were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairi claim that they

[531] formerly had decorated pottery called *amigu*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairi also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of communal houses, participated. The *kometi*, or collective land clearing, was one of these. A man

241 would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of forest land. The women would participate by preparing large amounts of food and honey beverage

476 for the workers. The new field would remain the property of the man who initiated the *kometi*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

[262] House building was always an enterprise in which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching.

423 When they returned with the thatching they put on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *mahulawdri* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

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[P. 76-B]

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadoéti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [527] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadoéti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man to man asking for a song leader. The man who 527 took the offered corn husk then began the 533 *yauwisári*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairi and how it made the people strong and healthy.

881 The *ransegéro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 304 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poinwáto* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *mahulawári* was performed during coopera- 376 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [527] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

• 286 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 527 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [533] women sang and danced the *yamaikúma*. This

[P. 77-A]

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574 dance was given at night accompanied by flute
535 playing.

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535 When a woman came out of seclusion after the
533 birth of a child the women of the village danced
to the tunes of the *taddawa* and *nekigé* flutes.

ORIGIN MYTHS

773
[126] Although the Bacairi have many myths, only two were obtained. One of these is the *yemadilli*, or the origin of day: In the beginning it was so dark and cold in the world that the people had to cover their bodies with grease to keep warm. The people wanted the sun to come out, so they put on their ornaments and painted their bodies and began to pray to *orimóto*, the great spirit who lived in the north. The Bacairi believed that *orimóto* was not an Indian but just a man who lived in a stone house with some of the animals which he had created. The people continued praying to *orimóto* and when light finally came the people were old and the children had grown up.

Yawétiakadúho, or "those who died in the fire," is a story which tells about the origin of cultivated plants and the *yawrisári*, or corn dance: Once long ago there were a number of boys who were in puberty seclusion. At that time there were no cultivated plants, the people living by hunting and collecting wild plant foods. The boys were kept in seclusion so long and had so little to eat that they became very tired. One day when the relatives of the boys went out to collect food the boys all committed suicide. When the relatives returned and found the boys dead they were sorry and angry with themselves for neglecting them. They built a large fire and after dancing around the fire naked they jumped into the flames and were burned to death. The leader of this act was *yawíti*. Later the soul of *yawíti* returned and spoke through one of the living Indians. He explained to the Indians how to grow corn and other food crops and how to perform the corn dance. After that the corn dance (*yawrisári*) has always been performed.

773
171 As the Bacairi formerly lived in association
[122] with the other Upper Xingú tribes, it is perhaps useful to compare their following origin myths as gathered by Von den Steinen with those of the Camayurá. There appears to be a close resemblance between *Kamuschini* of the Bacairi and